1: Parsons E-5 (1923-1927) 1929
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PREFACE

Of all the more visited Pueblo peoples the Tewa have been the least systematically described. They have been visited by several anthropologists, notably by J. P. Harrington, M. C. Stevenson, H. J. Spinden, and B. Freire-Marreco. With the exception of *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians* by Harrington, *The Ethnobotany of the Tewa Indians* by Robbins, Harrington, and Freire-Marreco, and *The Ethnozoology of the Tewa Indians*, by Henderson and Harrington, and studies of kinship terms by Harrington and Freire-Marreco, all monographs on highly specialized subjects, no records of investigation have been published. As no publication was in prospect and no material available even in manuscript, and as we had reached a point in our general survey of the social organization of the Pueblo Indians where more knowledge of the Tewa was indispensable for coordination and interpretation, I undertook in November, 1923, the unwelcome task of duplicating research among a people who are past masters in the art of defeating inquiry.

Imitating the secretiveness observed in all the Rio Grande pueblos, I settled in Alcalde, the Mexican town two or three miles north of San Juan, and, here, thanks to my helpful and understanding hosts of San Gabriel ranch, I secured informants from San Juan, Santa Clara, and San Ildefonso. My informants worked singly or in couples, niece and uncle, sister and brother, mother and daughter, one interpreting for the other. The San Juan informants were by far the best, being intelligent and scrupulous,—the man the most accomplished teller of folk-tales I have met in any pueblo. Not merely was his memory excellent, but he was an artist, a great artist, with feeling for values, humorous and dramatic, yet using with fidelity as well as with resourcefulness the patterns of his narrative art and of

115 his daily life.[1] Information from San Ildefonso was least satisfactory. The women were particularly timid and not well informed; the man was a threefold liar, lying from secretiveness, from his sense of burlesque, and from sheer laziness. Curiously enough, this man, whose social position is of the best, but whose veracity is of the worst according to both white and Indian standards, has probably been hitherto one of our sources of authority on the Tewa.

121 123 After three visits at Alcalde, which proved a good base also for work further afield than the Tewa, in 1926 I moved to a ranch between Santa Clara and San Ildefonso, too near either pueblo for adventure by the townspeople, always apprehensive of spies. However, I was fortunate in obtaining at this time and again in 1927 some invaluable information from San Juan and Nambé, with sidelights on Tesuque, the most conservative and tight-bound of all the Tewa pueblos.

128 For the most part I have kept the data from each town particularized. This may seem overmeticulous, and further work among the Tewa will undoubtedly show that in many cases a general statement would have sufficed for what will prove to be a widespread or general practice. But at present, given the incompleteness of our knowledge and the unequal reliability of my informants, I do not mind erring on the side of the meticulous. Moreover, social organization, it is safe to say, will never be found to be quite the same in any two pueblos of any of the Pueblo tribes. The Pueblos offer an unusually interesting field for a study of the distribution of traits within the same general culture area, and this larger study is dependent on intensive studies from town to town, not merely from tribe to tribe.

121 123 Since I did not reside in any pueblo during my investigation, I will not undertake to give any general picture of town life. My short visits to the pueblos sufficed merely to check up in a general way on maps of houses and kivas and to give me impressions I could compare with the life in other pueblos in which I had lived.

[1] His tales have been published in Tewa Tales (Parsons, 4).

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sions I could compare with the life in other pueblos in which I had lived. Of all the towns Tesuque has the look of being most self-contained, and such is its reputation among other townspeople. "Tesuque keeps all its old ways." It has the reserve of a western pueblo or of one of the less Americanized Keresan pueblos, say San Felipe. With Laguna, the most Americanized of the Keresan towns, one might compare Santa Clara. Like Laguna, Santa Clara has experienced a long standing feud[3] between progressive pro-Americans and conservative anti-Americans, in alignment being true to the outstanding pattern of Tewa social classification, the moiety pattern, Summer people against Winter people. Recently the Winter people have been electing their own governor; some time they may form one more Pueblo group to found a new town because of religious incompatibilities. Meanwhile, they are not washing their dirty linen in public,[3a] a decency I exceedingly regret, since it leaves the history of the quarrel unrecorded. The short-haired, English-speaking young man I counted on as historian was one of the most tongue-tied Pueblos it has been my misfortune to meet. There had been recent deaths in his family, I learned later, which were attributed to having told some white person something.

The 1926 estimate[4] of the Tewa population by the district superintendent totals 1189, distributed as follows:

San Juan[4a]	497
Santa Clara	354
San Ildefonso	102

[3] In 1883 the Indian agent reports that Santa Clara is very poor, "fighting always among itself." In 1890 another agent reports that the town is divided against itself, the cacique leading one faction, the governor, the other. "Some years ago the governor chastised the cacique, who, it is claimed, is a false cacique, and not appointed by legitimate methods." (Census, 83, 104).

[3a] However literally they may so do. See pl. 8.

[4] The estimate in 1895 was 1110 (Hodge, 346).

[4a] In 1890, 375 (Census, 182).

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592 62. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, a Summer woman from San Juan, and six children. He is brother to owners of houses 58, 60, 61. He built the house on land given him by his mother.
423
425 63. Owner, M., Winter. With Mexican wife and seven children. He bought the house.
64. Owner, M., Winter. With wife and four children (Gen. III, 60, 61, 89, 91-3).
65. Vacant. Owner, M., Winter. He is married to a white woman, in Albuquerque. He is brother to the owner of house 63. He built this house.
66. Owner, M., Summer. With wife, an Osage, and two orphaned grandchildren and a boy given to him from Pojoaque, half Mexican.
67. Vacant. Owner, M., Winter. Married to a Navaho. He built this house.

San Ildefonso[114]

114 The following data in list A are in large part unreliable. My
115 informant would not take the trouble to recall the membership
124 of the several households nor the exact relationships of the persons he did mention. For example, when I remarked at the conclusion of the list-making that no old women, no *saiya* or grandmothers, were included, "We have no *saiya*," said he, "they have all died off," a form of prevarication usual in reference to sacerdotalists whose existence is to be concealed, but more open to challenge in the case of old women, as was evident when the *saiya* in my man's own family was encountered in town. This was Tschta, whom he had mentioned in another connection, but not in the house list. The distribution of houses according to moiety is probably reliable in outline, it corresponds in general to the distribution given by another informant. The references to clanship affiliations are entirely unreliable. In all cases but one (house 3), husband and wife are said to belong to the same clan.[115] I incline to think that my informant knew few if any of the clan affiliations of his neighbors and fabricated at pleasure. As fabrication, however, the
114 614 124 clan affiliations he gives are of interest, for fabrication itself shows social pattern. For example he specifies only four clans,

[114] See pl. 10.
[115] But see p. 83.

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Sun, Red stone, Grass, Turquoise, in contrast to the longer list of clans he gives in another connection; and the smaller number exemplified in the house list is probably more accurate. With the exception of Turquoise his house list clan enumeration is corroborated by the woman who was the source of information for list B. As for the references to Turquoise clan, I incline to think that the moiety only was being referred to. My informant was one impossible to pin down on such an ambiguity.

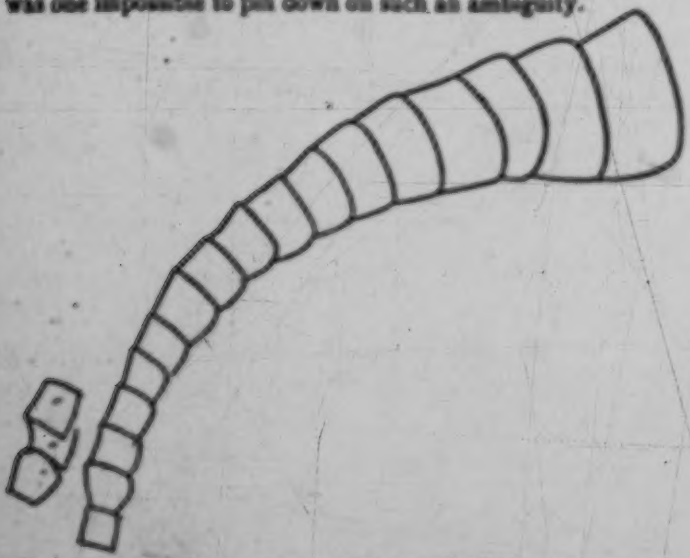

Fig. 1. First draft of map of houses. Made by a San Ildefonso townsman.

When his house list is compared with the second house list of San Ildefonso, one is tempted to think that the whole of it is fabrication. Only two households can be identified in the two lists, house 15 (List A), with house 3 (List B), and house 22 (List A) with house 14 (List B), and the details even in these cases do not correspond.[22] Differences in the personal names

[22] In the first case we have very definite evidence of the untrustworthiness of the informant of List A since informant of List B was the inmate of house 3, list B.

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of the two lists are in part explicable by the fact that the same person may have two or more names; but for the almost complete divergency in the names one must look for further explanation, I incline to think, in the inventiveness of the giver of List A. The giver of List B was excessively timid, but not inventive; and her list is the less unreliable. She had difficulty, however, in visualizing houses in mapping, as her first attempt at map making (fig. 1) indicates.

List A

1. *Poto'o*, Squash kiva, belonging to Summer people. (See pl. 9b.)
2. Owner, M., Agoyopin (Star mountain) or Santiago Alarides, Summer, Sun. Widower. He was mentioned by Benina of Nambé as the most influential man in San Ildefonso.
3. *Pendi ir'e*, Outside kiva, belonging to Winter people. (See pl. 11a.)
4. Owner, M., Kenyo (Mountain-lion), Summer, Grass. Aged widower, *Tewa pafona seno*, with aged daughter who never married, Summer, Grass.
5. Owner, F., Voyo, Summer, Sun. With husband, Kwíe, Summer, Sun, and one son.
5a. Inserted as an afterthought as the house of Summer chief.
6. Owner, F., Hqtse (Yellow cedar), Summer, Grass. With husband, Tanyitsire (Parrot bird), Summer, Grass; two daughters, two sons.
7. Owner, M., Kaw'qwi (Leaf kick-stick), Summer, Sun. With wife, G'ukpitsqwe, Red stone zigzag, Summer, Sun.
8. Owner, F., Katsire (Leaf bird), Winter, Turquoise. With husband, Pimpeta (Painted mountain prayer-stick), Winter, Turquoise.
9. Owner, M., Tseko, Winter, Turquoise. Widower. He got the house from his deceased wife.
10. Owner, F., Okuwasqwe (Cloud zigzag), Winter, Red stone. With husband, Pota (Painted squash), Winter, Red stone, and two children. Pota is *semaiyo*.[33] Okuwasqwe got the house from her mother.
11. Owner, F., Eyiq (Abalone shell), Winter, Red stone. With husband, Tanyisqwe (Parrot zigzag), Winter, Red stone, and three children.
12. Owner, F., Tetsetse, Winter, Turquoise. With husband, Kwíé (Ditch) Winter, Turquoise, and five children.
13. Owner, M., Ta'u, Winter, Red stone. With wife, Tqiseuwe, Blue basket, Winter, Red stone, and five children.
13a. Inserted as an afterthought as the house of the informant. This house was probably fabricated to conceal the fact that the informant lived in no. 14a or 14b.

[33] See p. 138.

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But there is still another reason, I suspect, for the multiplicity of clan names at Nambé and perhaps wherever the clan is nothing but a name. Informants are peculiarly unreliable in advancing a name when they do not really know the clan name of the person enquired about. Several times Benina of Nambé contradicted herself in the matter of clan names. Somebody was Red stone today, who had been Squash yesterday and might be Moon tomorrow. Her Moon clan affiliations were actually so contradictory that I have not included that clan name in my list at all. For the same reason I did not include the citation of a Basket clan.

Nor is Nambé a criterion for the question of reckoning descent. Mexican influence is a strong factor for reckoning descent through the father and Mexican traits are more prominent in Nambé than in any other pueblo I know. The first husband of our Nambé informant was half Mexican, half Navaho, and I suspect that she also had Mexican blood. In her mind descent was indubitably paternal—in spite of the exceptions which cropped out in her own descriptions. For example, her first husband and his mother were Winter people, whereas his father and his brothers were Summer people. Again one descendant of this family was described as a Coyote clansman, whereas his paternal uncles were Sand clansmen. It happens that our Nambé informant had been one of the chief interpreters of certain anthropologists who were some time ago in the field and who never questioned that Tewa clans were patrilineal.

LIST OF CLANS

Specifically[88] *represented, 1923*	*Not specifically represented, 1923*	*Recorded in 1895*[89]

[88] That is in genealogical tables or through citation otherwise of a specified person. Without such particularization informants in any town, especially in towns where clanship is feeble, are prone to supply fantastic lists of clans.

[89] Hodge, pl. 7.

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622 and he gave the pipe to the men who were willing to take it and dance. In a folk-tale the Outside chief is described as going from house to house to notify for a public meeting of the curing society.

622 The Outside chief is responsible for the repair of the kivas.
346 On the night of November 13, 1923, the Outside chief called a
651 meeting of his five assistants to decide on telling the women to plaster Little kiva. The next day in the evening the crier called out to the women to go to work the day following, i.e., November 15. In the morning he called out again to the women to leave their own work and go to work on the kiva. The Outside chiefs themselves would help the women "make mud." This repair was said to be for Christmas; but in view of the melons noticed on the kiva roof and the baskets of blue corn, I incline to think the dance was more imminent. Although my informant [115] was the wife of one of the Outside chiefs who was himself at work, she had not joined in the communal job. She was not fat enough to keep warm out there in the cold, she said, and she chuckled over the "fat ladies" she had left at work.

622 As elsewhere the Outside chief is responsible for public
276 morals. A striking illustration occurred during my visit. One
648 day two men from Taos arrived. Now the people of Taos were
177 in a turmoil over peyote and at that time affairs had taken a particularly acute turn and Taos was without secular officers, a condition of social unrest that would seem highly deplorable to any pueblo at peace. Besides, did not *beesh* make men crazy? So one of the Outside chiefs made the round of the houses, telling the people not to harbor the Taos visitors, to lock their doors, which my informant, for one, did. "The Outside chiefs were afraid the Taos boys would give *beesh* to the boys here."

276 Apropos of the spread of the peyote cult we may note that
177 one Pedro Baca of Santa Clara is or was a peyote eater. He had tuberculosis and he claims that he was cured by *beesh*. Pedro Baca is a Summer man and belongs to the more "progressive" faction of Santa Clara, like the peyote men of Taos. For ex-

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575 Nambé *kossa*, of whom there are six.[335] The *oke kossa* are
[302] painted white and black, they visit San Juan to take part in
[525] the Basket dance. The Nambé *kossa* are painted white and yellow. Two of them will visit Nambé during Summer dances there. Initiation into the group is performed at Nambé. Their "lake" or spring is *kate pokwinge*, east of Nambé.

Recruiting in both Santa Clara societies is through dedication either before birth or in sickness.[337]

The *oke kossa* are an innovation, Peru (Pedro) Cahete (Gen. III, 3) is the first man to hold the office of *oke kossa sen⁴o*. Pedro Cahete is away a great deal. He goes to dance for pay at Manitou, Colorado, and "he is very rich." Tąpi (Sun comes out) or Pomenio Sisnero is the *Nambé kossa sen⁴o*. His "right" is Genealogy III, 36 who was "given to them" before birth. He got a name from the *kossa*, but it has not been used and it is said to be forgotten.

San Ildefonso

Twenty-five years or more ago the last two *kwi'rano* died. Nowadays six *kwi'rano*[338] from Tesuque may come to San
[115] Ildefonso to play..... So much for my lying informant. In
[114] 1927 I learned that there are two *kwirano* in San Ildefonso—Wąpi (Tail red or Hawk) or Placido Sanchez (list B, house 2) who is *kwirano sendo*, and Kuwiye (Squirrel) or Juan Martinez.

There are three male *kossa*, *kossa sen⁴o*, who is also the Winter chief (pl. 26) and his right and left, and two female *kossa*.

Tesuque

[114] Although my Tesuque informant said there was but one *kwirano*, from Nambé I learn that there are eight—four men and four women. Their chief lives, however, at Cochiti, where their lake is.

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[335] Six men and three women, according to a Nambé informant.
[337] Cf. Dumarest, 191.
[338] But see below.

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Santa Clara

At Santa Clara the office of *pikᵊ sen⁴o* is unfamiliar. Formerly, when there were deer drives ("two wings would spread out and then close in, and the men from behind would come up slowly"), the Outside chief would come on ahead of the successful hunters to announce their return to the "oldest man or to the chief (*tunjo*)," who would build a fire in the kiva. They got a pipe and all the hunters smoked. They had to relate all that had happened from the time they left until the time they got back. Then all the people were told to bring bowls to get meat. Of the quarry the killer got the hide and horns and the backbone.

Some years ago, the women used to meet the men coming in from a rabbit hunt and receive the rabbits; but even at that, women did not go on the hunt; that was long, long ago. There is no rabbit hunting for the hierarchy; but four days before a kachina dance a rabbit hunt is held. At the dance the kachina carry the rabbits.

A bear killer would rub black soot on his face. In the folk-tale of the Witch Wife when a bear or lion comes down, they say, "We will make rain or snow, to see the tracks," and they go and tell the hunter.

San Ildefonso

At San Ildefonso the term *samaiyo* was used instead of *pikᵊ sen⁴o*. The last *samaiyo*[188] died, a very old man, when my middle-aged informant was adolescent. Later the same highly unreliable informant indicated the house of the *samaiyo* and referred to the *samaiyo* as functioning at present, going out early, before the others, on rabbit hunts, to build the fire and "do his *pocahonti*," the English-Mexican for magic (Tewa, *pinung*). The *samaiyo* also brings in the Buffalo dancers and the Deer dancers.

[188] A Santa Clara man suggested the etymology *sa*, tobacco; Spanish, *mayor*, chief; and my Nambé observer translated *sa-mayo* as tobacco big.

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touch corn, not even to throw a cloth over it. Nobody was to wash his face, keeping it covered with gum (*iqnia'kwa'*,) lest Sun old man (*iq sendo*) eat his face. Nobody was to comb his hair lest Sun old man take all his hair. At the close of these general observances early in the morning the plaza was swept and refuse and ashes were thrown away, to the West. The *kossa* would take ashes, motion them in the directions and cast them away—this for Wind old man (*wq sendo*) and Wind old woman (*wq kwiyo*).

There was no observance of the summer solstice (*iqsoge*, sun sits). Now, later, Benina who is a very frank and circumstantial reporter and yet at times strangely self-contradictory, insists that *iqnia'* with its taboos about fire, corn, face washing, and hair combing is the observance actually of the summer solstice, which is dated today by the Winter chief for lack in Nambé of a Summer chief.

RAIN RETREATS

Except among the Hopi and at Isleta and at Acoma, a series of summer rain retreats is observed by ceremonial groups. Such retreats are said to be observed at San Ildefonso. The order is: *Pe'qioyo* and his group, i.e., Summer man, *kossa*, Tewa *pufona*, *pahpufona*. The retreats which last four days begin in August, with the lapse of fifteen days between the first and the second, and the second and third. The round of retreats is repeated, as at Jemez; and, as at Jemez, there is a dance at the close of each retreat, a night time kiva dance, excepting after the *kossa* retreat when *pots'e* is danced outside. The *pahpufona* use the kiva of the Winter people. The *samaiyo* also observe a retreat, in August. It is not followed by a dance, and the position in the series of retreats I did not learn. At San Ildefonso there is also a winter series of retreats, begun by the Winter Men who go in after Christmas, for four days. After an interval of fifteen days, the *pahpufona* go in for four nights; then after another fifteen day interval, the *kossa*, for

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Even with older children, girls, *tsabiyu* may be used as a bugaboo.[317] In the San Juan folk-tale of the Disobedient Girls, *tsabiyu* appears as a ferocious whipper. The chief has sent word for all to go and gather onions, but the two Yellow Corn girls delay going until the others are coming home. Along comes "one of those *tsabiyu sendo*" with his long yucca blades. "*Sqgi-tsamu*, you do not mind the chiefs!" he said. Then he drew out his whip, and whipped one and then the other. They ran, and cried. And he ran after them and whipped them, and they ran and he after them. And the laces of their moccasins broke and their leggings fell off, and they left them there and ran, and their belts came off and they left them there and kept on running. He was after them and whipped them. And they threw off their shawls and dropped their onions. And he ran and he whipped. Their under-belt came off and dropped. He used up all his blades. Then he said, "Yellow Corn girls, next time you won't do this again. When people go out, they should all go together. This is what happens to girls who don't obey their chiefs. Now go home!" They went home, without onions, without moccasins or belts or shawls.—This story was told me by a woman who had heard it from her much respected maternal uncle, a chief.

Tsabiyu is associated with snowfall. When it looks as if it were snowing in the eastern mountains, where *tsabiyu* comes from, people may say to the children, "*Tsabiyu* is coming," or "*Tsabiyu* are getting ready their sacks in the hills." Somebody was quoted to me actually saying this one November day, November 10. After it has snowed, people may say, "*Tsabiyu* is under the snow, he won't come."

San Ildefonso, Tesuque

At San Ildefonso, *tsabiyu* is also referred to as *pewa sendo* (Mex., *abuelito*, i.e., *abuelito*, little grandfather).

[317] Other bugaboos are referred to in the tales—*ziagwq kwiye*, Teeth woman (Santa Clara), *pendi sendo*, Black old man, *chuge kwiye*, Witch woman (Santa Clara), *pumqhq* old man and woman (San Ildefonso).

3:Henderson & Harrington H,E-S (1910-1911) 1914 MT18 Texa MT18

X136 172 were observed. Remains of the beaver and small rodents, and bones of birds, especially the turkey, eagle, hawk, and owl, were noted.

Remains of the dog and turkey were found in nearly every ruin, showing the extent of the domestication of these animals in this region. So far as can be determined, the dog and turkey were the only animals domesticated by the pueblo tribes. [231] It was hoped that light might have been thrown upon the question of domestication of other animals, namely, the deer [citing Nadaillac] and an aurhenia (llama), as affirmed by Cushing from figurines found on the Rio Salado, in Southern Arizona. The writer has copied numerous pictographs in the valley of the Little Colorado River showing unmistakably the herding of turkeys and of deer by men. . . . Still, the evidence presented so far as to the domestication of other animals than the dog and turkey is unsatisfactory.

114 121 Zoological field work was conducted for slightly less than four weeks in the neighborhood of El Rito de los Frijoles in August, 1910, so that this account can not be considered in any sense a final discussion of the fauna of the vicinity. Collection and observation were conducted chiefly in the lower part of the Rito de los Frijoles canyon and on adjacent mesas, but included a two-day trip to the Painted Cave and a three-day trip to the top of the Jemez Mountains and edge of Valle Grande, just beyond the headwaters of the Rito, so that a general impression of the fauna from the top of the mountains to the rim of the Rio Grande canyon was obtained. Judge A. J. [115] Abbott, who now lives at El Rito de los Frijoles, Mr. Nathan Dowell, who has hunted and trapped in the region, and several of the Indians employed in the archeological excavations have furnished much information, which a short summer trip could not disclose. In case of 114 the birds especially only observations carried through the four seasons could make it possible to secure a list even approximately complete, on account of the number of migratory species which must visit the vicinity. Obviously the birds seen were all either permanent or summer residents, winter residents and spring and autumn migrants being then absent. To the list have been added such species as have been recorded for the Rio Grande valley between the Colorado line and a point southwestward from Santa Fe, so far as they could be noted in the limited examination of the literature which has been possible. Time has not permitted as full an examination of the zoologic literature of the region as is desirable, and much information is hidden in works whose titles do not suggest at all the inclusion of anything zoologic.

133 The region is within the southern extremity of the great Rocky Mountain system. Northward, mountains extend in unbroken chains through Colorado. Southward, instead of continuous chains there are isolated mountain masses separated by dry mesas and plains. Consequently the affinities of the fauna as a whole are with the mountain fauna of Colorado. The great majority of species are found northward to or through Colorado. A few, as *Ashmunella*, are of distinctly southern type.

4: Robbins et al N,E-5 (1910-1911)1916
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largely as possible in asking the questions and in recording the information. The reasons for this are that the Indian words are largely not susceptible of exact translation, and the use of a foreign language is apt to modify and render un-Indian the conceptions of the informants. 124

In the present work the writers took with them into the field three old Indians, one of whom could speak fairly good English. The services of this individual were of considerable value; it is very desirable that the services of such an informant be enlisted if possible. Although not absolutely essential, it is probably true that the best ethnobotanical work can be done by the close cooperation of a botanist with an ethnologist and linguist experienced in the methods of recording Indian languages, the scientific recording of which is by no means an easy task. With their informants the two should go into the field together. It is essential that investigation be done in the field with growing plant life; showing fragments of plants picked up here and there, or even herbarium specimens, to the informants is far less satisfactory. The botanist will relieve his co-worker of collecting and preserving the plant material; the latter can thus better concentrate his efforts on obtaining the ethnologic information. Furthermore, it is natural that questions of botanical interest will occur to the botanist that would not occur to the linguist. Once in the field, the Indians are shown growing plants and are questioned fully about each, the smaller as well as the larger and more conspicuous forms. The nature of the questions will depend somewhat on the plant. In the present work the questions were framed so as to elicit the following facts about each plant: Indian name; etymology of name; uses of various parts, and methods of preparing them for use; names of the parts of plants, even the most inconspicuous; descriptive terms applied to this or that shape of leaf, kind of bark, stem, etc., and the extension of these terms in describing non-botanical phenomena; native ideas of the relation of the use of the different structures to the plant itself; and the lore connected with the plant. [115]

It is needless to say that field notes should be made complete in the field; it is unsafe to depend on one's memory and attempt to record certain information after reaching camp. It is well not to hasten from plant to plant: the informants should be given abundant time to think over and discuss points among themselves. 126

It is often of advantage to photograph some of the more striking and important plants, showing their habitat and general appearance. Drawings of plants may be used to supplement photographs. In addition, native representations of plants can often be obtained, notably in the form of designs of pottery, basketry, from petroglyphs, etc. An attempt should be made to identify these, as they are important in indicating the Indian conception of various plants.

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San Ildefonso

831 ATTITUDES TOWARDS SEX In comparison with the neighboring pueblos of San Juan and Santa Clara, the people of San Ildefonso place very little emphasis on sex. Among children there is little play behavior of conscious sexual significance [522] and there is no exchange of jokes on the subject. Sexual situa-
203 tions are, however, recognized by the young, and rumor is
881 quick to ascribe sex relationships between men and women. If, for instance, a woman is seen going to a man's house unescorted, children may say that So and So are living together. We never heard unsubstantiated gossip of this sort from adults, but children made such statements casually to us. Whether they were repeating gossip they had overheard, or whether they made it up themselves, we never discovered. In any case no great attention was paid to such a rumor, and adults very rarely gave occasion for speculations of the kind.

124 Reliable information on sex behavior was very difficult to
831 get; in general the villagers were unwilling to discuss the subject. Our information was based chiefly on conversations with
• [115] two men, one a youth from another pueblo who was then living in San Ildefonso, and the other the village Falstaff, head of the Kossa.

836 We were told that adolescents, both boys and girls, were usually virginal until about the age of sixteen, when they "run around" with partners of about their own age, usually from other pueblos—San Ildefonso is so small that the pairing off of young people would be the subject for comment and correction by all their elders. These liaisons are brief, and though tolerated are not approved, especially in the case of girls. However, while the general attitude is complacent, the family of the girl, or even of the boy, may object. Boys occasionally have relations with Spanish-American girls, but

8:Aberle D-5 (1930)1931 NT18 Town NT18

ularly include the parents' residence. Without that, it 114
s not always possible to tell whether they were Indians or
ricans. Consequently, the Indian names were collected 127
or and subsequent to that period, and when in doubt only
se births were taken where the names were similar to the
nes on the list of known Indian families. Each entry was
cked and the material arranged in families.

The parish birth records from 1892 to 1930 were recorded 125
d checked; the families which were alive in San Juan dur- 127
the summer of 1930 were made into a separate file. Each
e of these families was visited and questioned regarding
e number of offspring they had borne, with special empha-
on the abortions, children that had been born dead or had
d before christening. For Santa Clara, the method em-
oyed was essentially the same. The dates of the births
re collected from the parish records and a questionnaire
ade of the individual families.

The families used in this study were carefully chosen from 125
ses that were interviewed. If the total number of chris-
ned children given by the mother agreed with the number
llected from the parish records, the abortions and stillborn
fants were included and that family used in the study. If,
owever, a woman could not remember the total number of
r christened children, it was assumed that she would not
e able to remember the number of her abortions and still-
rths, so such families were omitted from the study. If the [124]
mber of children given as the total by an Indian woman
id not tally with the births which had been recorded for her
the parish books, and it was obvious that she was doing her
st to remember, she would be assisted by the records.
When a woman gave figures that were at great variance with
he parish data, and it was felt that she was purposely trying
o misrepresent the facts, she was excluded without further
iscussion. Nearly all of the women who had passed the re- 114
roductive age could not remember the number of offspring 115
hey had borne, and most of the middle-aged women did not
ave a clear idea of the number or the sequence of their preg-

8:Aberle D-5 (1930) 1931 NT18 Tewa NT18

nancies. The proper sequence was necessary in order to place the stillborn infants and abortions between their proper sibs whose birth dates were known. The records from the parish were essential in this study. It would have been impossible to obtain any reliable information if one had to depend only upon the confused and vague memories of the Indian women.

No families were used where one or both of the parents were considered Mexican and on that basis excluded from the Government census. No families were used where it was known that the husband had been away from home for several consecutive years, or where the woman had been married more than once, unless the dates of the deaths of the husbands and subsequent marriages could be obtained. Some small families of one or two children, and families where the parish records were not complete because the family had been away for a period of years, were omitted.

Twenty representative informants were unanimous in saying that no contraceptive measures were used by the women of these pueblos. The older people are eager for the younger women to have as many children as possible. The younger women seem to want offspring and take great pride in their babies. Hrdlička, to whom we owe the first systematic inquiry into this subject among the Indians, noted a general desire for children on the part of the Indian women.

Twenty-eight complete years, for the periods 1800 until 1820 and 1829 until 1837, show 340 registered births in the pueblo of San Juan. Of these, 179 were males, 160 were females, and 1 whose sex was unknown (table 2). For twenty-eight years at the beginning of the twentieth century, from 1902 until 1930, the number of recorded births was 573, of which 270 were males, 302 were females, and 1 whose sex was unknown. Figures where the San Juan parish records had been corrected by a questionnaire of the parents show a total of 644 births for eighty-four women, of which 313 were males, 312 females, and 19 whose sex was not known. Of this group, there were thirty-two miscarriages, or about five out of every one hundred births. There were ten stillbirths, which makes 1.5 per cent stillborn out of every hundred births.

114 that time that I first met Xa·yᵘ t'a·ᵃ, whose name may be
●[115] translated as 'Striped Stone Fetish,' and who eventually gave and explained the text of the Raingod Ceremony to me.

Xa·yᵘ t'a·ᵃ loved his people, and their ancient lore
114 was an essential part of his own life. He revealed the cere-
124 monies without personal benefit, and with no other interest than the conviction that I was sincere and sensitive to the great beauty and deep meaning of the sacred traditions. Both of us were agreed that, at a time when the practice of the ancient Indian heritage was dwindling, this was a meaning which it was our duty to preserve. Still, it was not until after the war, when it became evident how rapidly the ancient traditions were breaking down, that he consented to the eventual publication of the ceremonies after his death.

Xa·yᵘ t'a·ᵃ is no more; he has gone to Yáŋ wi·klmo,
116 the place of rejoice making. Since he passed away, I have made friends with many other Tewas, most of whom, I am sure, do not appreciate his attitude. Although the old man realized that he would be criticized by his own beloved people, he was never worried about this, nor did he even feel guilty. His purpose, like mine, was to preserve the sacred rituals as creations of art, and as an expression of the spiritual longings of sensitive people in their desire to "seek life." In doing so, we have tried to pay homage to Tewa religion, and to honor the Tewa Indian. Concerned with the appropriate presentation and acceptance of the ritual, Xa·yᵘ t'a·ᵃ said to me on several occasions: "Please be sure to tell your readers that the purpose of our ceremonies is not entertainment, but attain-
[117] ment; namely, the attainment of the Good Life. Our dramas, our songs, and our dances are not performed for fun as they might be in the white man's world; no, they are more than that: they are the very essence of our lives; they are sacred."

The Background

A. The Pueblo

361 San Juan is the largest and northernmost of five villages of Tewa speaking Pueblo Indians in the upper Rio Grande